

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3133

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND AF DICK MOOSE

DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO LONDON, LUSAKA, MAPUTO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: POEV, RH, TZ

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE ON PRINCIPALS' MEETING

REF: STATE 184975

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE SUGGESTS THAT UK AND US "WORK A LITTLE HARDER" TO ENSURE SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF "MAJOR ELEMENTS" OF ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO CONVOKE MEETING OF RHODESIAN PRINCIPALS. MY RECOMMENDATION FOR NEXT MOVE IS TO GET MOST FORTHCOMING POSSIBLE RESPONSE TO NON-PAPER GRAHAM AND LOW LEFT WITH SMITH AND THEN TRY THAT ON NYERERE, KAUNDA, AND MACHEL. END SUMMARY.

2. IN DISCUSSION WITH NYERERE NIGHT OF JULY 24 ON DEVELOPMENTS AT KHARTOUM AFFECTING RHODESIA, PRESIDENT SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN NKOMO AT KHARTOUM; HE HAD SEEN MUGABE BUT NOT TALKED TO HIM ABOUT PRINCIPALS' MEETING. NYERERE HAD LEFT RHODESIA DISCUSSION TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA, GIVING KAUNDA HIS OWN OPINION THAT THE UK AND US MUST TAKE MORE TIME AND "WORK A LITTLE HARDER" WITH SMITH BEFORE A MEETING WOULD BE FRUITFUL.

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3. NYERERE SAID THAT THE "REALITY" OF NAMIBIA COULD NOT BUT HAVE A GOOD IMPACT ON THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. THE "EXAMPLE" OF NAMIBIA ALSO SUGGESTED THE UTILITY OF PATIENCE. GRAHAM AND LOW SHOULD CONTINUE WITH THEIR SHUTTLE. THE US AND UK SHOULD USE EVERY MEANS POSSIBLE TO EXTRACT FROM SMITH JUST HOW FAR HE WAS PREPARED TO GO. IF WE COULD GET SMITH'S AGREEMENT ON

"MAJOR ELEMENTS" OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, A MEETING OF PRINCIPALS COULD BE FRUITFUL. MEANWHILE, HE (NYERERE) WAS PREPARED TO WAIT.

4. NYERERE ADDED THAT HE AND PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA HAD HAD A VERY LONG TALK ON RHODESIA AT KHARTOUM. TOLBERT HAD TOLD NYERERE OF HIS INTEREST IN AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE AND IN PRESERVING A PLACE IN A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT FOR BISHOP MUZOREWA. TOLBERT HAD SENT A LETTER TO MUZOREWA IN THE US ASKING HIM TO STOP IN LIBERIA ON HIS WAY BACK. NYERERE HAD TOLD TOLBERT THAT HE COULD TELL THE BISHOP THAT HE (NYERERE) WAS STILL NOT AGAINST HIM, BUT THAT MUZOREWA DID NOT HAVE MUCH TIME LEFT. MUZOREWA SHOULD DUMP SMITH BEFORE SMITH DUMPED HIM.

5. COMMENT: USING GENERAL TERMS, I BROUGHT NYERERE UP TO DATE ON LATEST GRAHAM-LOW VISIT TO SALISBURY, BUT WAS UNABLE TO DRAW HIM OUT BEYOND THE ABOVE. NYERERE CONCEDED THAT HE HAD TOLD GRAHAM AND LOW IN THEIR CONVERSATION WITH HIM HERE TO "GO AHEAD AND TRY" FOR A PRINCIPALS' MEETING ON RHODESIA. HOWEVER, HE ALSO INSISTED THAT MORE WORK HAD TO BE DONE WITH SMITH BEFORE ANYTHING WORTHWHILE COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. HE SEEMED PREPARED TO LEAVE INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA TO KAUNDA FOR THE MOMENT. IN CITING REPEATEDLY THE ADVANTAGE OF "TRYING" AND "PATIENCE" IN REGARD TO NAMIBIA, AND IN STRESSING HIS OWN WILLINGNESS TO WAIT A LITTLE LONGER ON RHODESIA, NYERERE SEEMED TO BE HINTING AT THE DESIRABILITY OF ANOTHER STRUCTURED, CONFIDENTIAL

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PERSISTENT EFFORT TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS FROM SMITH--A LA THE LAST TWO-POINT EFFORT ON NAMIBA. (I SAID THAT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE WE DID NOT YET HAVE A FINAL ANSWER FROM SMITH, BUT DID NOT RPT NOT MENTION THAT GRAHAM AND LOW HAD LEFT A NON-PAPER WITH SMITH.)

6. RECOMMENDED ACTION: MY JUDGMENT IS THAT WE SHOULD GET KAUNDA'S REACTION BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER. SUBJECT TO THAT REACTION, WE SHOULD SEEK AS FORTHCOMING A RESPONSE AS POSSIBLE TO GRAHAM-LOW NON-PAPER FROM SMITH (GOING BACK TO HIM ONCE OR TWICE IF NECESSARY). WE SHOULD TRY THAT RESPONSE ON KAUNDA, NYERERE, AND MACHEL. WE SHOULD MAKE OUR DECISION ON TRYING FOR A PRINCIPALS' MEETING ON THAT BASIS. SPAIN

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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